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THE MILITARY POLICE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PLAINS

Ethnology Problem

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THE PROBLEM

The military police organizations of the Plains Indians have often been considered an unique development of Plains culture----and one that developed rather late.

Outline the various types of military police organizations within the Plains area and analyze their various functions. On the basis of this analysis discuss the problems of the origins of military police organizations within or without the area, the roles of diffusion and independent development in their spread, and the influences of these organizations on neighboring areas.

Definition of Terms

Before attempting to solve the previously stated problem, I feel it is important to define certain terms used in the exposition of the problem which will be employed in the remainder of this paper.

The most important concept to be defined is "military police organization." This term or concept may be interpreted in a number of ways. Military police organization may mean a police organization hat is formed and operates only during military operations; it also may mean military organizations or societies that have certain police duties; or it may simply mean that soldiers without military society affiliations act as the police. Since all three kinds of military police organizations appeared on the Plains, and since I shall endeavor to prove they are all genetically and historicially related, I believe that it will be bestto define this term in the most general way. Therefore, I shall define a military police organization as being any police organization that is composed of military personnel.

However, the definition of military police organization does not wholly clarify the problem of terms. There still remain the questions, what are police organizations and what are their duties ? Police organizations as I shall here define them, are centralized social control mechanisms that enforce organized negative(penal) mixed sanctions.(1)

(1) The above definition was obtained from my reading John H. Province's PhD. thesis for this department. Many of his concepts have been based on Radcliffe-Brown's article in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences entitled Sanctions. The concepts 'organized', 'negative' , 'mixed sanctions' in Province's work are defined in the following manner:

Definition of The Area

Beside defining the terminology used in this paper, it is also necessary to ascertain what area I shall consider to be the Plains. The Plains, as it is spoken of in Ethnology, may mean (2) a distinctive physiographic or natural area(Kroeber) or (3) an area having a distinctive culture type that more or less corresponds to a physiographic area (Wissler). Since my problem concerns the history of military police organizations in the Plains, and since many of the tribes possessing this organization were not suited in the physiographic Plains area, I shall define the Plains area as that area having the Plains type of culture.

The geographical boundaries of this area(sea the map) are on the west the Cordilleran Mountain range, and on the east the Mississippi River. On the north the boundary runs across central Saskatchewan and Alberta, and to the south the boundary may be placed north of the Ozark Hills, and of the central portion of Texas.

"Organized means social actions carried out according to some tradition and recognized procedure."
"Negative on action that receives public diapproval,and often incurs for the offendor, some penalty."
"Mixed Sanctions:actions that protect interests of a community as well as those of particular individuals, and tend to strengthen the unity or euphoria of a group."

(2) A.L.Kroeber, Cultural And Natural Areas of Native North America, University of California Press,Berkeley,Calif. 1939

(3) C.Wissler, The American Indian, Oxford University Press, New York, 1922

In this area two types of generalized vegetation are present.(4) In the western portion of the area, the main vegetation consists of grassland, while in the eastern half one finds grassland as well as deciduous forests.

The topography of the area shows the western portion to be flat with few streams; the eastern half is rolling country with many rivers and streams.

The cultural features that Wissler considers to be diagnostic of this culture area are the following: (5)
" The chief traits of this culture are the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the very limited use of roots and berries; absence of fishing; lack of agriculture; the tipi as a movable dwelling; transportation by land only, with the dog and the travois (in historic times with the horse); want of basketry and pottery; no true weaving; clothing of buffalo and deerskins; a special bead technique; high development of work in skins; special rawhide work (parfleche, clindrical bag, etc.); use of a circular shield; weak development of work in wood,stone,and bone. Their art is strongly geometric, but as a whole, not symbolic; social organization tends to the simple band; a camp circle organization; a series of societies for men; sun dance ceremony; sweat house observances, scalp dances, etc.

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(4) Ibid. note 2, page 15

(5) Ibid. note 3, page 220

In this paper I shall consider the following tribes to be of the Plains culture, and my studies will be based on the military police organization of these groups (6). (See transparency for accompanying map for exact location of tribes.)

Mandan
Hidatsa
Arikara
Kiowa-Apache
Arapaho
Blackfoot
Cheyenne
Crow
Kiowa
Pawnee
Assiniboine
Eastern Dakota
Ogala
Plains Cree
Plains Ojibway
Iowa
Osage
Ponca
Kansa
Omaha
Ute
Comanche
Sarsi

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(6) A few tribes have been left out of this study either for the reason that no information is available on their M.P. organizations, or because they are identical with groups that shall be mentioned. However, I consider the tribes included to be a fair sample of the Plains.

ANALYSIS OF MILITARY POLICE ORGANIZATION IN THE PLAINS

Method: In lieu of describing the specific organization of each tribe within or without the Plains area, I shall first describe the distinguishing features of military police organizations that occur in the whole area and the range of concomitant duties. Then I shall correlate these duties and other distinguishing features of the military police with their occurrence in specific tribes. This correlation is in the form of a check-chart, followed by a bibliography of tribal studies indicating the sources of information used in the chart. From this chart I shall derive the types of military police organizations that occur in the Plains, and also the distribution of these types among the tribes. Next, I shall describe the types, indicating the characteristics on which the typology is based, the variants of each type, and the duties of each organization. In conclusion of this section I shall discuss the functions of these military police organizations.

The form of the Military Police organizations may be described by a consideration of the following features.

Selection of Police

(1) One specific military society would have as one of its duties the policing of the camp

(2) One of two or three military societies of younger warriors might be chosen consecutively or at random as the military

police for a particular season or year.

(3) The military police might be chosen by the chief or council from among the warriors of the tribes without regard to societal affiliations.

(4) The military police might be made up of warriors who had achieved a meritorious military status through their deeds in war. The warriors are automatically considered as police, and no selection takes place.

(5) A particular clan might have the police duties

Emblems or symbols of police authority

(1) Blackening with paint of the region around the mouth sometimes occurred.

(2) Special lances, cut or shaved in a certain manner or with feathers attached to them, might be carried.

(3) Whistles were often carried

(4) Pipes also might be carried

(5) A centrally located lodge or tent might serve as a base for police operations

Tenure of Office

(1) Police organizations might be permanent

(2) Police groups might be selected annually

(3) Police organizations might be set up only during tribal gatherings, such as the Sun Dance, a buffalo hunt, or the annual fall gathering.

Disciplinary Measures Enforced by The Police

(1)The offendor might be treated to a "soldier killing", i.e., he might be whipped.

(2)The offendor might have his property and belongings destroyed without compensation

(3)The offendor might have his property destroyed wih, however, the possibility of compensation by the police, provided that he repented and accepted the destruction without rejoinder.

(4)The offendor might be verbally admonished and reprimanded for his wrongs.

(5)According to many reports concerning the Plains, the offendor might be executed. I myself, however, discovered no record of any witnessed occurrence of capital punishment

The Duties of Military Police Organizations

(1)The police might operate as directors of the buffalo hunt. They prevented frightening of the herd, individual hunting, and breaking of the line while the group was stalking the buffalo.

(2)Among agricultural groups, the police might, in the spring, prevent anyone from planting before the ceremonial date of planting.

(3)Among agricultural groups, the police might, in the fall,prevent anyone from harvesting before

the ceremonial date, andrestrict each individual's harvest to his own crop.

(4) On the march the police prevent anyone from separating from his group or camping ahead of the leader

(5) During large gatherings, the police had civil functions, such as, enforcing curfew, preventing quarrels, and apprehending thieves.

(6) Police might act as sentinels

(7) Police might restrain war parties

(8) During warfare, police sometimes act as leaders in charging the enemy.

(9) During ceremonial occasions such as large tribal dances, or the Sun Dance ceremonies, police might act to maintain order.

Type I

The most specialized of the military police organizations is Type I. There are four diagnostic features for this type:

(1) The police duties are centered in one particular military society.

(2) This military society always carries lances as its badges of authority

(3) The members of this military police organization paint the region around the mouth black

(4) The police organization is in operation all year round.

Besdes these specialized features of police organizations there are also general ones: punsihment is usually whipping, although destruction of property occurs among the Arapaho(this may have occurred among other tribes, but was not reported by the observors.) The duties of the police were confined mainly to policing the buffalo hunt, the march, and the camp.

Tribes which have a typical Type I police organization are the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. The Arapaho have this type of organization, but vary in that their police do not paint the lower part of the face black. The Kiowa-Apache also seem to be closer to this type than any other, and differ from Type I in that their police organizations have no symbols of authority, they operate only when the tribes are gathered, and their duties are limited to policing the buffalo hunt and tribal marches.

Type II

Type II is similar to type I in that the police are all of one society. However, in Type II, the society appointed may vary from season to season. Usually the choice of societies to operate as police is limited to three or four of the military societies, those composed of the younger warriors. In most cases, the police function only during such occasions as the gathering of the bands of the tribes. Symbols of authority are totally lacking. Punishment takes the form of whipping, or destruction of the offendor's property. Duties are confined to supervision of the buffalo hunt and tribal marches, arbitrating camp quarrels, and maintaining order during the Sun Dance. The last duty may be considered a diagnostic trait of this Type.

The Blackfoot, Crow, Cheyenne, and Kiowa have this type of police organization.

Type III-A

The selection of the akitcita (police) was made by the chief or council without regard for military society affiliations. Though much of the available evidence is not conclusive, it is indicated that this akitcita functioned only when the tribal bands were together. During this time those braves selected as police lived in a special tent or lodge in the center of the camp circle. Their duties were the same as the rest of the Plains police. Punish-

ment dealt out by the police took the form of whipping or destruction of property. Among the Assiniboine and Ogala, compensation for destroyed property was given if the offendor took his punishment in good grace.

The Assiniboine, Eastern Dakota, Plains Cree, Bannock Potowotomie, Illinois Menominee, Iowa, Osage, and Kansa belong to this category. In the many ethnological works , the Ogala or Western Dakota are said to have a different type of police organization from the one men ioned above. Wissler states that military societies were chosen as police(7).However, Don Collier(8) has informed me that this is not correct, although it may outwardly appear to be, since one military society might often include most of the foremost braves. These braves would be selected as police; thus in actual fact, the individuals are selected, and not the society to which they happen to belong.

The Pawnee, however, are a variation within this type. This tribe has police selected annually from the braves by the chiefs, but at the time of the buffalo hunt, the buffalo priest will choose one society to act as police. Still, the Type III-A feature of having a central lodge, and the lack of police during the Sun Dance relegate the Pawnee to Type III-A instead of Type II. (9)

(7) Wissler

(8).Don Collier based his opinion on recent field work

(9)Information on the many Central Algonkian tribes is too scarse to derive from it any definite clarification. However, it would seem that all but the Winnebago belong to Type III-A. Among the Winnebago the Bear Clan functions as police during planting and harvesting, and in camp.

Type III-B

Among the Ponca, Omaha, and Plains Ojibway, the akitcita is composed of warriors who have accomplished certain meritorious feats in war. In other features these tribes are like the Type III-A tribes.

Type IV

Among the Sarsi and Comanche the warriors are selected by the chief during the Sun Dance, and when the tribe is on the march. Police power here seems to be limited to punishing offenders by whipping or publicly reprimanding them.

THE FUNCTION OF MILITARY POLICE ORGANIZATIONS

In the Plains there were numerous disphoric forces. The economic and social competition for wealth and rank were forces so strong that they might easily leaf to open intra-tribal conflict. The limitary police organizations functioned to maintain tribal unity by controlling these forces. The civil duties of these organized mechanisms of social control held in check the disphoric elements during times of the group or village activity. The prevention of unnecessary destruction of game and the assurance of food supply for the group (and not the individual) by supervising the buffalo hunt, were other ways that the police combatted the strong individualistic tendencies of Plains culture. Further, by guarding the village, and by keeping the tribes orderly while on the march, the police protected the group from attack. The zeal for attaining rank by deeds in war was also checked by the police who restrained war parties at inopportune moments. Related to any successful endeavor in this culture was h the supernatural, since s ccess was attained by the guidance of the gods. The military police in many incidences supervised tribal ceremonies, and made sure that the rowdy soldier elements of the tribe did not incur supernatural vengeance.(10)

Since police organizations of the Central Algonquian and the Winnebago are historically and genetically attached to those of the Plains, I believe it necessary to deal with the function s

(10) N.D. Humphrey, A Characterization of Certain Plains Associations, American Anthropologist, Volume 43, Number 3, 1941

of the police among those groups. From the reports available, it is apparent that the disphoric elements of the Plains were not found in this area. Then why do these groups need this organized mechanism of control ? Briefly, the purpose of the police among these societies was to keep the societies in existence. It is well known that the area in which they lived was surrounded by hostile groups (such as the Iroquois, Sioux, and Chipewa). If these small groups were to continue to exist, they had to have sentinels and an organized body to keep them unified on the march. Furthermore, the position of the chief in these groups was never very secure, since there were many warriors ready to assume his position, if necessary by force. Therefore, it was imperative that the chief have a "storm trooper" force to protect him. Finally, since the tribes' subsistence was dependent upon agriculture, and agriculture in turn, upon the unpredictable weather (governed it was believed, by the supernatural), it was necessary that the time of harvest and planting be rigidly controlled. Among these tribes the warriors of the chief were the only ones who could act as police and control such activities.

The problem of the interrelations of the police organization to the rest of the social rganization, and the problmm of how the other institutions act as control mechanisms in the Plains, are problems closely related and of vital importance to our understanding of the function of police organizations in the Plains. However, they must await further research, and for the present I do not consider them to be a part of this historical paper.

HISTORY OF THE PLAINS

As a framework for interpreting the historical aspect of the military police organizations, I am here inserting this brief general history of the Plains.

Any history of the Plains before white contact, necessarily starts outside the Plains, and to the east. Archaeology shows that before 1600 no groups lived in the Plains. Further to the east, both in the prairie and the midwest, the dominant culture belonged to the Woodland Pattern.

A t this time we had in the prairie (i.e., Wisconsin and Minnesota) Woodland groups who were the ancestors of the Dakota,(12) the Menominee,(13) and Cheyenee,(14) (and probably) the Assiniboine. In Illinois were the Woodland ancestors of the Sauk and Fox(15) and the Potowotomi (or Miami) (16). Before this time no Upper or Plains or Middle Mississippi existed in the North.(17)

However, between 1600 and 1650 Middle Mississippi groups began to move northward. Rather late in this period certain of these cultures combined with Woodland culture form the Upper Mississippi phase and the Oneota Aspect.(18).

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This group of Oneota have now been found to be ancestral to the Osage(19), Winnebago (20) and the Chiwere Sioux (21). However, all of these groups did not combine with the Woodland. One aspect of the Middle Mississippi phase seems to have migrated up the Missuori River to Nebraska to become the Upper Republican Aspect of the Plains Mississippi phase.(22) This manifestation was ancestral to the Arikara and the Pawnee.(23) A third culture group also was being formed by the merging of the Oneota and Upper Republican culture and is manifested in the Mill Creek focus (24). The Mill Creek focus appears to be ancestral to the Mandan-Hidatsa-Crow cultures.(25) It appears that the Crow at a rather early date broke away from the Mandan-Hidatsa culture.(26) The Woodland culture, previosuly mentioned as belonging to an erlier period, continues up into this period, as an unchanged form. All the groups mentioned in this period appear to be semi-sedentary village horticulturalists.

Between 1650-1700 in the northern part of the Plains and prairie some of the previously mentioned manifestations began to differentiate into the tribal groups that are historically known.

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The Upper Republican culture of north N braska separated to become the Pawnee and the Arikara. . The former moved south and the latter moved north. The Mill Creek focus broke up into the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow. The latter moved from their former habitat in western South Dakota. The groups of the Oneota phase began breaking up at this stage, into the Osage, Winnebago, Iowa, and Oto. Also, the Woodland groups began to separte into the Cheyenne, East and West Dakota, Menominee, Sauk and Fox, and the Potowotomi, (and the Miami.) . In the southern Plains, the Ute, Kiowa, and Comanche were beginning to use the horse. This was changing their nomadic food-gathering economy t a hunting-military economy. (27). These radical changes soon were to appear in the north.

Between 1700 and 1750 , the Blackfoot and the Sarsi became horse cultures. Also, the Cheyenne had moved west, and had taken up the horse culture , as had the Western Dakota. Near the end of this period the Sioux took up the Plains culture.

Between 1750 and 1800, the Pawnee, Crow, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Eastern Dakota succumbed to a horse economy. Near the end of this period the Plains-Cree and Plains Ojibway moved south from Canada, and assumed the same type of life. as their neighbors.

However, the extinction of the Plains culture was approaching, for by 1850 the classic period of Plains culture had climaxed, and within fifty years was almost obliterated.

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ORIGIN, DIFFUSION, AND INDEPENDENT INVENTION OF THE TYPES OF MILITARY POLICE ORGANIZATIONS

We have seen that military police organizations served two different functions, one kind among the Woodland, and another among the Plains groups. The next problem to decide is which type of function was prior to the other.

The conditions requiring a centralized control mechanism in the Plains (such as status rivalry, economic competition, etc.) appear to be functionally interrelated with the development of a "horse economy " . These needs and their correlated economic system certainly are later than the Woodland needs (protection f om predatory tribes etc.) since the horse did not arrive in the Plains until 1650 to 1700 .

Further proof for the priority of the military police organization in the Woodlands may be attained from the ethnohistorical sources and archaeological sources. Hennipen wrote in 1680 tht the Dakota had military police organizations. The Dakota at this time were a Woodland group related in their material culture to the Algonquian tribes such as the Cheyenne, Menominee, Sauk and Fox, and Potowotomi (or Miami). The groups ancestral to the Plains tribes (such as Upper Republican, Mill Creek, and Oneota) appear to have come into existence about 1600. The possibility that the latter (who,before the use of the horse, did not appear to have had a need for a police organization) could have originated and diffused police systems to the Woodland groups in only 80 years, is rather remote.

Also, it would appear that the Woodland material culture had undergone little change from prehistoric times (before 1600) to historic times. If we may assume that the lack of changes in material culture are correlated with lack of changes in the social organization, then the police institution seen in 1680 among a Woodland group may be a survival of an institution that existed before any group directly ancestral to the Plains tribes seen had come into existence.

Therefore, on the bases of the above evidence, it appears that the military police organizations originated among the Woodland (algonquian ?) groups in the states of Wisconsin or I llinois. Also, since most of the tribes in this area have a Type III-A milt-ary organization it might be further postulated that the Type III-A was the original form in which this institution appeared.

This type probably diffused to the Iowa, Osage, Kiowa, Pawnee, Ogala, Dakota, and Plains Cree as the need arose. That is, as these tribes moved out onto the Plains and assumed a Plains type of culture, the forces of disharmony (competition, rank, etc.) n ecessitated that this Woodland type of soldier-police organization be exploited. Among the Plains-Ojibway, Omaha and Ponca, variations of this type of institution occurred independently. These variations I have called Type III-B.

Among the Kiowa, Crow, Cheyenne and Blackfoot, these same disphoric elements, along with the rise of military societies , probably molded the original Type III-A form into Type II. The exact process by which it was changed from Type III-A to Type II is not known, but the form of military police organization of Pawnee might

very well represent the transitional stages between Type III-A and Type II. Whether the groups independently invented, or had this type invented in one group, which in turn diffused to the other groups, cannot be said. The prehistory of these tribes is too inadequately known.

Another specialization of the original Type III-A form of institution into Type I seems to have taken place among the Mandan-Hidatsa group. This also, must have occurred rather late in their history, since the Crow, who were historically related to them, do not have this form of institution. The Arikara appear to have adopted this Type I from the Mandan-Hidatsa group when they were in contact with them during their rather late arrival in the states of North and South Dakota. Also, the Arapaho seem to have in part adopted this form from the Mandan-Hidatsa group. The Kiowa-Apache, who are historically unrelated to any of the other groups, and who have a Type I variant of the military police organization, appear to have developed this form of organization independently. Again, the process by which Type III-A developed into Type I is unknown; however, it may have developed from the typical Type III-A into the Ogala form, and thence into Type I.

The military police organization of the Sarsi and the Comanche, (called Type IV) seems to have reached them at the same time and as a part of the Sun Dance complex. These two instances seem unrelated and the form in each case developed independently. From which of their neighbors the two receive the police is unknown.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From the data here presented, it seems that the milit ry police organizations were not unique in the Plains since they also occurred in the Central Woodlands (and in the Southwest).(28) Also, the early mention (1650-1700) of military police organizations among the Woodland groups and the Dakota show that this institution did not develop late.

A survey of the Plains tribes (and the central Algonkin) has revealed that there are four main types of military police organizations, each of which had certain diagnostic traits.

Type I. A single military society functioned as police. The members of this organization usually carried lances and blackened the lower part of their faces. They operated all year round. (Mandam, Hidatsa, Arikara, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache)

Type II. One of three or four of the military societies might be chosen to function as police. Their tenure of office was limited to times of tribal gathering and particularly during the Sun Dance ceremony. (Crow, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Kiowa)

Type III-A. A chief or council chose certain warriors to act as police. During their period of appointment,

(28) A brief survey of the literature of the area surrounding the Plains has been made. The Pueblo groups of t.e Southwest and the Central Algonkin were the only culture areas having police. I have not included the Southwest police organizations which appear to have been police groups with a different form, use, and function, and historically unconnected with the Plains.

which was limited to seasonal gatherings, the police lived in a centrally located hut, lodge, or tent. (East and West Dakota, Osage, Iowa, Plains Cree, Kansa, Menomini, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, and Pawnee)

Type III-B. This was very similar to type III-A except that the warriors were not selected by any individual or body but automatically attained membership in this organization at the completion of certain meitorious military deeds. (Plains Ojibway, Omaha, and Ponca)

Type IV. Military police were chosen from the warrior group and functioned mainly during the Sun Dance ceremonies. (Sarsi and Comanche)

The function of the various types of military police organizations among the Plains tribes was to keep tribal unity by checkin g individualistic tendencies. Their duties, such as supervising the buffalo hunt, policing the camp, acting as sentinels, supervising the march and ceremonials were the ways in which this institution controlled the disphoric forces. It is apparent, however, that among the Central Algonkin (and probably the early Dakota) the police organizations (probably of type III-A) functioned to maintain the existence of the tribe by protecting it from its enemies.

This last-mentioned function (and therefore type III-A) s eems to have appeared first. This fact, coupled with ethnohistorical data, has lead me to conclude that type III-A originated in Wisconsin or Illinois among Woodland groups. The police organization diffused to the Plains as the need for such an

organization arose there. This need sprang from the economic competition and rank rivalry caused by the coming of the horse into the Plains. Since the need occurred in varying intensity, new types of military police organizations were formed. The Mandan-Hidatsa invented type Iwhich then diffused to the Arapaho and Arikara. The Kiowa-Apache xixw independently invented the same type. Type II, very similar to type I, was invented by the Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Crow and Kiowa group. In just which one of these tribes this type first arose and thence diffused to the otherss cannot be ascertained from our present knowledge. Late in the history of the Plains a historical variant of type III-A apperared. This type, III-B, seems to have been independently invented by the Ojibway and the Omaha-Ponca tribes. Even later in the history of the Plains the Sarsi and Comanche adopted military police organizataion as part of the Sun Dance comples. They probably adopted type IV from their neighbors, who already had type II.

The influence of the military police organizations on neighboring areas seems to have been rather limited. The Southwest, the Southeast area, and Northern Algonkin area seem not to have been affected. In the Basin-Plateau area, only the Bannock and the Lemhi were influenced. In the case of the Central Algonkin area, the influence seems to have been less on it than from it.

Thus I complete the history of the military police organiz ation in the Plains. In presenting this history, I have purposely avoided the histories of the Plains by Wissler, Lowie, and Kroeber. Their reconstructions, based on the trait complex distributions (Age-Area hypothesis)have ignored the functional aspects as well as much of the archaeological data. I have attempted to consider these two important points; no ethnologist should ignore th

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CHART SHOWING CORRELATION OF THE FEATURES OF MILITARY POLICE ORGANIZATION WITH TRIBES WITHIN THE PLAINS

The Form of Police Organizations

Selection: One warrior society as police

Chosen warrior society as police

Police composed of selected warriors

Police composed of accredited warriors

Clan as Police

Symbols: Black mouths

Lances

Whistles

Centrally located station

Tenure: Permanent

Annual

At gathering times

Punishment: Whipping

Destruction of property

Destruction of property, but may have compensation

Death

Reprimands

The Duties of Police Organizations

Buffalo hunt police

Planting police

Harvest police

March policeq

Sentinels

Civil police--curfew

quarrels

theft

Restraining war parties

Leaders in battle

Policing of ceremonies

The Military Police Organizations of the Plains

Ethnology Problem
submitted
to the Anthropology Department
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Dec. 23, 1944

by

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Table of Contents

Chapter I

Introduction

~~A discussion of the terminology~~ The defining of terms

I feel it is important

Before attempting to solve the previously stated problem, I deem it necessary to define certain terms used in the ~~statement~~ exposition of the problem ~~and~~ which will be employed in the remainder of this paper. To be defined

The most important concept that must be defined if we are to clearly discuss our problem, is "military police organization". This term or concept may be interpreted in a number of ways. Military police organization may mean a police organization that is formed and operates only during military operations; it, also, may mean military organizations or societies that may have certain police duties; or it may simply mean that soldiers without (~~military personell~~) affiliations act as the police ~~organization~~. Since all 3 these kinds ~~of~~ of military police organization appeared in the Plains and since I shall endeavor to prove they are all genetically and historically related, I believe that it will be best to define this term in the most general way. Therefore, I shall

define military police organization as being any police organization that is composed of military personell.

However, the definition of military police organization does not wholely clarify the problem of terms. There still remains the question, ~~as to just~~ "what are police organizations and what are their duties?" as I shall here define them

Police organizations, ~~shall here be defined~~ are ~~as being~~ centralized social control mechanisms that enforce organized negative (penal) mixed sanctions.[1]

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1. The above definition was obtained from my reading John H. Provinse's Phd. thesis for this department. Many of his concepts have been based on ~~obtained from~~ Radcliffe-Brown's article in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences entitled "Sanctions." The concepts organized, negative, mixed sanctions ~~are~~ were defined in the following manner:

"Organized means social actions carried out according to some traditional and recognized procedure".

Negative - "an action that receives public disapproval" and often incurs for the offender, some penalty.

Mixed Sanctions - ~~actions that protect the~~ - actions that protect interests of a community as well as ~~that~~ those of particular individuals and tend to strengthen the unity or euphoria of a group

The Defining of the area

Beside defining the terminology used in this paper it is also necessary to ascertain what I shall consider to be the Plains. The Plains as it is spoken of in ethnology may mean 1) a distinctive physiographic or natural area (Kroeber) or 2) it may mean an area having a distinctive culture type that is distinctive and more or less corresponds to the physiographic area (Wissler). Since my problem is historical concerned with the history of military organization in the Plains and since many of the tribes possessing this organization were not situated in the physiographic plains area, I shall define the Plains area as being that area having the Plains type of culture.

The geographical boundaries of this area (see the map) may be described as being on the west the Cordilleran mountain range, on the east the Mississippi river, On the north the boundary runs across central Saskatchewan and Alberta, and to the south the boundary would be north of the Ozark hills and of the central portion of Texas.

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2. A.L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif, 1939
3. C. Wissler, The American Indian, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1922

In this area two type of generalized vegetation ~~may be seen~~ are present.[4] In the western portion of the area, the main vegetation is composed of grassland, while in the eastern ~~portion of the~~ area half are finds grassland as well as deciduous forests.

The topography of the area shows the western portion to be flat ~~while~~ with few streams; ~~while~~ eastern half is rolling country with many rivers and streams.

The culture features that ~~wissler~~ considers to be diagnostic of this culture area are the following:[5]

"dependence upon the ~~the~~ buffalo or bison
---------- scalp dance etc."[4]

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4. Ibid note 2, pg 15
5. Ibid, note 3 pg 220.

In this paper I shall consider the following tribes to be of the Plains culture and I will be basing my studies[1] on the military polity organization of these groups.[6] (See transparency accompanying map for exact location of tribes)

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6 A few tribes have been left out of this study either for the reason that no information is available on their M.P. organization or that they are identical with groups that shall be mentioned. However, I believe the [illegible] tribes will be a fair sample of the Plains.

Selection of police:

~~Selection of police:~~

1. One ~~military society may~~ military society would have as one of its duties the policing of the camp.

2. One of two or three ~~police groups~~ military societies of younger warriors may be chosen consecutively or at random as the military police for a particular season or year.

3. The military police may be chosen by the chief or council from among the warriors of the tribes without regard to societal affialiations.

4. The military police may be made up of warriors who had achieved a meritorious military status through their deeds in war. The warriors who are automatically considered police, and no selection takes place

5. A particular clan may have the duties

~~Police Symbols:~~

Emblems or symbols of police authority ~~(another feature of the plains organiz ation)~~ consists of the following forms:

1. Blackining with paint of the region around the mouth sometimes occured

2. Special lances, cut or shaved in a certain manner or with feathers attached to them, might be carried.

3. Whistles were often carried

4. A centrally located lodge or tent might serve as a base for ploice operatons.

5. Pipes also might be carried.

A NALYSIS OF MILITARY POLICE ORGANIZATION IN THE PLAINS

Mehtod:

In lieu of describing the specific organization of each tribe within or without the plains area I shall first describe the distinguishing features of military police organizations that occur in the whole area and the range of concomitant duties. Then I shall correlate these duties and distinguishing features of the military police with their occurence in specific tribes. This correlation shall be in the form of a check chart. Following it will be a bibliography of tribal studies which will indicate the sources of the information used in the chart. From this chart I shall derive the types of military police organizations that occur in the plains, and also the distribution of these types among the tribes. Next, I shall describe the types, indicating the characteristics on which the typology is based, the variants of each type, and the duties of the organization. As a conclusion of this section I shall discuss the functions of these military police organizations.

Form of the Military Police organizations:

The first phase of military police organizations to be discussed is the relationships of the personnel of these institutions.

The selection of the personnel of the police organization

The selection of the police personnel is the first function of military police organization to be considered.

on this period appear to be ~~a~~ village initially semi-sedentary ~~and with a rather stable social organization~~.

Between 1650 - 1700 in the ~~North~~ northern part of the plains, a few ~~separations of the former~~ separations mentioned ~~tribes~~ began to differentiate into the ~~tribes~~ manifestations tribal groups that are historically known.

The Upper Republican culture of north Nebraska separated ~~to~~ to become the former moving east & the latter moving south. The Initial creek focus broke up into the Pawnee, Arikara and Crow. The latter moved west from their former habitat ~~to~~ in South Dakota. The groups of the Oneota plains ~~groups~~ at this stage began working up into the Osage, Winnebago, Iowa, and Otoe. Also, the woodland groups began to expand into the Upper Great Lakes, Missouri, Fox and the Potawatomi (and Miami). In the southern Plains the Ute, Kiowa and Comanche were beginning to ~~getting~~ the horse. This ~~It~~ was changing their nomadic food-economy to ~~one~~ hunting ~~and gathering~~. There cultural changes soon were to appear in the ~~mid~~ north.

~~Between 1700 to 1750 a great change took place~~

The function of Military Police Organizations

In the plains culture there were numerous disphoric forces ~~in motion~~. The military police organizations functioned to maintain tribal unity by ~~combating~~ harnessing these forces. The economic and social competition for wealth and ~~status~~ rank were forces so strong that they might easily lead to open intra-tribal conflict. ~~where they not held in check by this strong organized mechanism of social control.~~ The duty of the However, the civil duties of these ~~disruptive~~ organized mechanisms of social control held in check these disphoric elements. The prevention of unnecessary destruction of game and the ~~disruption~~ of food supply for the group (and not the individual) by ~~superior~~ superior warriors are other ways that the police combatted the strong anti-social individualistic element of plains culture. Further, by guarding the village and ~~destroying~~ keeping the tribes orderly or ~~conducted~~ the group from attack. The police protect The zeal for attaining rank by deeds in war was also harnessed by the police who restrained war parties at inopportune moments. Related to any unlawful endeavor in these cultures was the supernatural. The military police in many ~~visitations~~ supervised tribal ceremonies and ~~dances~~ made sure that the rowdy soldier elements of the Tribe did not incur supernatural vengeance. (1)

(1) N. D. Humphrey, "A Characterization of Certain Plains Associations," Am. Anthro. vol 43, No 3, 1941

Tenure: ~~of office:~~

~~The police organizations of the plains operated:~~

~~1. Each police organization might be~~

~~2. Police ... groups, elected annually~~

~~3. Police organizations might be, but were only during~~
~~tribal gatherings, were, the Sundance~~
~~a buffalo hunt, or the annual fall gathering~~

~~Punishment:~~

~~Listed below are the displinary measures enforced by the police upon those subject to their control.~~

1. The offender might by treated to a "soldier killing", i.e. he might be whipped.

2. The offender might also? have his property and belongings destroyed wi hout compensation.

3. The offender might have his property destroyed with, h wever, the possibility of compensation by the police, provided that he repented and accepted the destruction without rejoinder.

4. The offeneder might be verbally admonished and repremanded for his wrongs.

5. According to many reports concerning the plains, the offender might be executed. I myself, however, discovered no record of any witnessed occurance of capital punishment.

Type 1.

The most specialized of the military police organizations is type 1. ~~Four~~ Three are three diagnostic features for this type: ~~which are the following:~~

1. ~~One~~ The police duties are centered on one particular military society.
2. This military society always carries lances as its badges of authority.
3. ~~All~~, The members of this military police organization paint their ~~entire~~ faces with the region around their mouths black.
4. The police organization is in operation all year round.

Besides these specialized features of police organization there are also found the general ones: Punishment is usually by whipping, although destruction of property also occurs. The duties of the police are confined mainly to policing the buffalo hunt, the march, and the camp.

Tribes that ~~may be considered as~~ have a typical type 1 police organization are the Omaha, Hidatsa and Arikara. The Arapaho have this type of organization but very ~~incomplete~~ in that their police do not paint their lower face black. The Kiowa Apache, also, seem to be ~~somewhat~~ closer to this type than ~~another type~~ any other and differ from ~~the others~~ this typical in that their police organizations have as symbols of authority, ~~long~~ lances, ~~but~~ they ~~operation~~ only when the tribes are gathered, and ~~not~~ their ~~function~~ duties are limited to policing the buffalo hunt and tribal marches.

(4) type 1 POLICE

(Crow Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Kiowa)

Type 3(a) A chief or council chose certain warriors to act as police. During their period of appointment, which was limited to seasonal gatherings, the police lived in or around a centrally located hut, lodge, or tent.

(Plains Cree, Kiowa, East & West Dakota, Osage, Iowa, Omaha, Menomini, Potawatomi, Santee Fox and Pawnee)

Type 3 b. These were similar to type 3 a, except that the warriors were not selected by any individual or body but automatically attained membership in this organization at the completion of certain mentorious military deeds.

(Plains - Cheyenne, Omaha, & Ponca)

Type 4. Military police were chosen from the warrior groups and functioned mainly during the Sun Dance ceremonies. (Sarsi & Comanche)

The function of the various types of military police organizations among the Plains tribes was to keep Tribal unity by checking the individualistic tendency. Their duties, such as supervising the Buffalo hunt, policing the camp, acting as sentinels, supervising the social and ceremonials, and the ways in which they controlled this institution combatted these disphoric forces.

Type 2

Type 2 is similar to type 1 in that the police are all of one society. However, in type 2 society may vary from season to season. Usually the choice of societies to operate as police is limited to those or parts of the military societies composed of the younger warriors. In most cases the police only function during such occasions as when the heads of the tribe symbols of authority are ritually lacking. Punishment takes the form of whipping or destruction of the offender's property. Duties are confined to supervising the buffalo hunt and tribal marches, arbitrating camp quarrels, and maintaining order during the encampment. The last duty may be considered diagnostic trait of this type.

The Blackfoot, Crow, Cheyenne and Kiowa have this type of police organization.

Type 3a

The selection of ~~warrior~~ police (police) societies was made by the chief or warrior with regard for military society affiliations. Though much of the available information is not conclusive on the subject, it would appear that this societies functioned only when the tribal bands were together. During this time three braves selected as police lived in a special lodge in the center of the camp circle. Their duties were the same as the rest of the Plain police. Punishment dealt out by the police took the form of whipping or destruction of property. Among the Assiniboins and Ogala, compensation for destroyed property was given if the offender took his punishment in good grace.

The Assiniboins, Eastern Dakotas, Plains Cree, Bonaks, Potawatomi, Illinois, Menomini, Iowas, Omaha, and Kansa belong to this category. In the many ethnological works the Ogala or western Dakotas are said to have a different type of police organization than the one mentioned above. Wissler states that military societies were chosen as police. Dorsey, Dr Collier, has informed me that this not only might be true of the Ogala but of the Assiniboin as well. One military society for instance, the Strong Hearts, is actually said to be selected and not the society itself. These braves would be selected as police.

1. Wissler

2. Dr Collier -

This ~~paper~~ completes my brief analysis of the functions of public organizations. It is, of course, inadequate, in that it does not deal with the other institutions, ~~which~~ (functionally related) adequately However, I believe, that I have analyzed the various functions of military public organizations, albeit ~~not~~ without ~~becoming involved~~ going into the ~~role~~ larger social structure of plains culture, which is not the problem of this paper.

Diffusion

Type 1

(A) Mandan, Hidatsa & Arikara have an identical type 1 pottic organization

(B) Mandan + Hidatsa historically related and greatly influenced Arikara at a late date (archaeological fact from history & tradition alone).

(C) Therefore, the Type 1 org. diffused from Mandan-Hidatsa to the Arikara

— what about the Winnebago

1. Winnebago ~~historically~~ paralleling & historically unrelated except in language. Also, ~~agriculture~~ are rather different. Both are specializations of basic pottic org. pattern. I believe it is case of independent invention or convergence. Also, I shall cite ~~the~~ military pottic organization type 5.

Origin

(A) Mandan-Hidatsa are originators of this specific type 1.

(B) The type is definite a specialization of an earlier type.

(C) The only earlier that could exist is type 2a of the Central Woodland. before 1750

(D) Causes for specialization of things connected with military organizations are those changes economic situation and modes of warlike for profit, the ranking system brought in by ~~changes~~ in warlike pattern and the increased warlike ~~activity~~ between epoch ~~and~~ and the need for fortifications. Evidence for fortifications by Mandan-Hidatsa

(E) The crow who left this group about 1750 do not show this type

F. Specific pottic org. ~~type~~ 1 originated in Mandan-Hidatsa ~~area~~ about 1750 and on the above facts

However, it is apparent that among the Central Algonkins (and probably the early Dakotas) the police organizations (probably of type 3a) were functional to maintain the existence of the tribe by protecting it from its enemies.

~~The origin of this latter function seems to have appeared first thus the type 3a and, therefore, the type 3a, This latter function and the type 3a appeared first~~ see

This latter function (and therefore type 3a) seems to have appeared first. This fact, coupled with ethnohistorical data, has led me to conclude that type 3a organized in Wisconsin or Illinois among Woodland groups. The police organization diffused to the plains as the need for such an organization arose. This need for such an organization sprang from the coming of the horse into the plains which, in turn, caused economic competition and rank rivalry. Since the needs occurred in varying intensity, the formation of new types of military police organizations were formed. The Omaha-Dakotas invented type 1, and diffused it to the Arapaho, and the Kiowa-Apache also independently invented the same type. Type 2, very similar to type 1, was invented by the Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Crow and Kiowa group. Which of these tribes invented this type and diffused it to the [illegible] and Plains

The Ponca, however, are a variation within this type. This tribe has police selected from the boys by the chiefs annually, whereas, at the time of the buffalo hunt, the buffalo priest will choose one society to act as police. Still, the type 3a features of having a central lodge, and taboos only during sweat ceremonies and the lack of Police during the Sun dance religion the Ponca as Type 3a instead of type 2. (1)

Type 3b

Among the Ponca, Omaha, and Plains Objibway the akicita is composed of warriors who have accomplished certain meritorious feats in war. In other features these tribes are like the type 3a tribes.

Type 4

Among the Hasi and Comanche the warriors are selected by the chief during the Sun Dance and when the tribe is on the march. Police power here seems to be limited to punishing offenders by reprimanding them publicly (whipping) or

(1) Information on the Central Algonkin tribes is too scarce to derive from it any definate classification. However, it would seem that all but the Winnebago belong to type 2 as during the Winnebago the Bear clan functions as police during planting & harvesting and in comp.

2 Footnotes at bottom of this page
I leave about 8 lines.

Since police organization of the Central Algonkin and the Winnebago are historically and genetically attached to those of the plains, I believe it necessary to deal with the ~~police~~ functions of the police among those groups. From the ~~meager~~ reports available, ~~not~~ ~~maybe~~ ~~of these groups~~ it is apparent that the diaphonic elements of the plains ~~are~~ not be found in this area. Then why do ~~they~~ these groups need an ~~their~~ organized mechanism of control? ~~How~~ Briefly, the purpose of police among these societies not ~~abrogation~~ function is to keep the societies in existence. ~~It is~~ well known that the area in which they lived was surrounded by hostile groups (such as the Iroquois, Sioux, and Chippewa). If these small groups were to continue to exist, they ~~had to~~ have scouts and an organized ~~body~~ ~~the~~ ~~army~~ men unified on the march. ~~Furthermore,~~ the position of the chief in these groups was never very secure, ~~since~~ there were many warrior ready to assume his position (by force) if necessary. Therefore, it was ~~imperative~~ that the chief have a "storm-troops" force to protect him. ~~Finally, the supernatural~~ Finally, since the tribes ~~economic~~ subsistence was dependent upon agriculture, and agriculture, in turn, upon the weather ~~which~~ was governed (or ~~thought to be~~ governed, it was believed, by its supernatural), it was necessary that the times of harvest and planting be rigidly controlled. Among these tribes the warrior and the chief alone ~~in this~~ were the only ones who could enforce police

History of the Plains [redacted]

As a framework for interpreting the historical aspect of the military police organization I am presenting this brief ~~summary~~ general history of that area.

Any history of the plains before white contact necessarily starts outside of the plains and to the east of it. Archaeology shows that before 1600 no group lived in the plains. All to the east in the prairie and the forest of the dominant culture belonged to the woodland pattern.

In this area at this time we find the Prairie Algonkian & Siouan woodland groups who were the ancestors of the historic (and probably the Assiniboine). Siouan speaking ~~Dakota~~ Cheyenne & Arapaho & the woodland ancestors of the Dakota Fox & and the Potawatomi (or Miami) & Before this time the upper or Middle Mississippi or Plains Algonkin were in the north.

However, between 1600 and 1650 Middle Mississippi group began to move northward, & Rather late in this period certain of them

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1. Anderson & Lockhard.
2. Anderson
3. Mooney
4. McKern
5. John Griffin
6. Tree Rings.
7. ~~Wis~~

cultures combined with woodland culture to form the Upper Mississippi phase and the Oneota aspect.[8] This group of Oneota have now been found to be ancestral to the Otoe[9] Winnebago" and the Chiwere bains." However, all of these groups did not combine with the woodland. One aspect of the Middle Mississippi phase seems to have persisted up the Missouri to become Pawnee Nebraska to the Upper Republican aspect of the Plains Mississippian. This ~~Oneota~~ complex was ~~Plains group~~ ancestral to the Arikara and Pawnee.[11] A third culture group also was being formed. This group appears to have been formed by the merging of the Oneota and Upper Republican cultures and is manifested in the Mill Creek foci.[14] The Mill Creek foci appears to be ancestral to the Mandan-Hidatsa-Crow culture.[15] It appears that the Crow at a rather early date broke away from the Mandan-Hidatsa culture.[16] The woodland culture, previously mentioned as belonging to an earlier period, continues up into this period in an unchanged form. All the groups mentioned as being specific

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Fort Ancient

8. Griffin
9. Bowers.
10. McKern.
11. Dr. Scott.
12. McKern
13. Wedel - Lewenton
14. Strong
15. Will
16. Smalley.

The duties of M.P. organizati ns:

The uses of this orgainzed mechanism of control are numerous.

1. The police may operate as directors of the buffalo hunt. They prevent frightening of the herd, individual hunting, and breaking out of line while the group is stalking the buffalo.

2. Among the agricultural groups the police may, in the spring, the police may pervent anyone from planting before the ceremonial date of planting; and in the fall they prevent anyone from havesting before the ceremonial date, and restrict each individual's harvest to his own crop.

4. On the march, the police prevent anyone from separating from his group or camping ahead of the leader.

5. During large gatherings, the police have civil functions such as the following;

enforcing curfew

preventing quarrels

apprehending thieves

6. Police may act as sentinels.

7. Police may restrain war parties.

8. During warfare, police sometime act as leaders in charging the enemy.

9. During ceremonial occasions such as the large dribal dances or the Sun Dance ceremonies police may act to see that order is maintained

Insert p. 10

(A) the distribution of the types among the tubers;

(B) the cell

2. Among agricultural groups, the police might, in the spring, prevent anyone from planting before the ceremonial date of planting.

3. Among agricultural groups, the police might, in the fall, prevent anyone from harvesting before the ceremonial date, and restrict each individual's harvest to his own crop.

A.A. vol 18, 1934 - pg 433

Cheyenne

E. Adamson Hoebel - Administration of the law in the Plains

— "The fostering of the buffalo hunt was emphasized as the special religious function which existed to attract the Cheyenne and thereby resulting in intertribal rendezvous and festivals"

Participants / 1. Northern Cheyenne & Northern Arapaho — meeting annually in autumn
2. Crow
3. Kansas — during the winter they scattered to various trading posts

Cheyenne — given to a society by tribal council, each society had a special dance, songs, paraphernalia, etc.
— Out of about 10 societies — Police pledges by charge
— Military duties
— Murder also matter of personal

Speech, pg 287, 2-117 Con Rec 1915
in found

Speech, p 412
The Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki
Confederacy - ~~the~~ in found
491 after 1676

Pierce - The Penobscot Indians
Women Records, Pic, Com.
Phil Soc, Vol XXVI, No
1897

Pub BAE R[14] - pg 287 - additional
part half stamp

Military Police Ordnance